



TO THE ELECTORS OF THE BOROUGH OF FINSBURY.

Normandy, 25. June, 1834.

GENTLEMEN,

WHEN the Reform Bill was under discussion, the country gentlemen expressed their fears, that the people of the metropolitan boroughs, and of the two cities of Westminster and London, would return nothing but men of great industry, great talent, and uncontrollable stubbornness in asserting the rights and interests of the tradesmen and working people. The conduct of the electors in these boroughs and cities most fully proved that these alarms were groundless. The Irish Coercion Bill, the present Poor-Law Bill, the Repeal of the Malt-tax, the endeavour made by me to get justice for the middle classes with regard to the Stamp Duties, the several discussions upon the subject of short Parliaments; all these have most amply proved that the alarm of the landed grandees was wholly groundless. In short, if I were to enter into the detail, I could show that the metropolitan boroughs and cities discovered in their choice, less sense, or less public spirit, than any other part of the kingdom.

As to yourselves, when a man like Mr. WAKLEY was offered to you, you took a lawyer, employed by the Government on the circuit to supply the place of the Attorney-General in prosecuting printers and the like; and, doubtless, you must have been very proud to see your member pleading, as it were for his life, for

a heavy sentence on Mr. COHEN, the editor of the *Brighton Guardian*, for an offence of a very trifling nature, if it were an offence at all; and you have had the satisfaction to see numerous landed grandees of the county of Sussex, making application for the mitigation of the sentence.

Your other member you could know nothing of, except that you knew that he was a *placeman*; and that ought to have been enough for you to know. What did we want the reform of Parliament for? When we petitioned for parliamentary reform, we were not such senseless brutes as to pray for it for nothing; for the mere *name*. We prayed for it, first and foremost, because we thought it would take off the enormous and unjust burdens which we have to bear. Never did it enter into our heads to pray for parliamentary reform, in order that we might have a Parliament to cause the Irish to be tried by courts-martial, instead of judges and juries; or that the money raised in parishes for the relief of the poor should be taken away from the control of the parishes, and placed under the control of commissioners appointed by the Government, and removeable at the Government's pleasure. We did not pray for a parliamentary reform, in order to get a Parliament that should not take one penny off from our burdens, and that should pass a law to enable the landed grandees to sell the wild animals of the field, and to transport us if we should be found in pursuit of them in the night-time. We did not want a Parliament to set to work to pull to pieces every institution of the country made for our protection, and to do no one thing that should be of any practical good to us. Yet, if we chose *placemen*; men *living upon the taxes*, how are we to expect that those men would vote for taking the taxes from our backs?

Mr. GRANT is, for anything that I have ever heard to the contrary, a very worthy man; but you know, and every

body knows, that a placeman is compelled by his engagement, by his word of honour, to vote on the side of the Ministry, be the question what it may. Therefore you knew you were choosing a man who would never vote for the taking a tax off your backs. By your votes you as good as told the Government that you did not want any reform of the Parliament at all; and that you were quite content to pay all the taxes imposed on you without any alleviation whatsoever.

And what benefit has the parish of St. LUKE, for instance, found in having two members in Parliament? There is a bill before Parliament for giving six votes in every vestry to every considerable landowner, for enabling him, while spending his rents at PARIS or at ROME, to give those votes by proxy. In short, to give to the landowners of England the power which is possessed by the heritors of Scotland, which is the most hellish under the sun. This bill, which makes a total change in the social compact of England, which proposes such monstrous things that every humane man shudders at the thought of them; by the means of which it is intended to have only three or four workhouses in every county; and by the means of which it is avowed that the rate-payers in the middle ranks of life are to be stripped of all power in the distribution of relief. This most monstrous bill is founded upon this assertion; namely, *that the vestries of the parishes are not worthy of being intrusted with the distribution of the money of the parishes*; and therefore it is necessary to take the money out of their hands and put it under the control of a board appointed by, and removeable at the pleasure of, the Ministry of the day, though this is a total abrogation of the ancient local government of England.

Speaking to a member of a metropolitan borough, I said, Upon what ground do you defend the transferring of the monies of a parish into the hands, or putting them under the control, of Government commissioners? Upon what ground do you support the proposition, that those who have to pay for the

management of the poor, are not the best calculated to attend to that management? "Oh," said he, "there is no such thing as preventing *jobbing*. The tradesmen play into each other's hands, and thus the parish is robbed. Only look," said he, "at the Poor-law Commissioners' Report relative to the parish of St. Luke, Middlesex." I did look at it, knowing nothing of RICHMOND their informer, nor of the true state of the case. Therefore, during the discussions on the clauses of the bill, it was out of my power to defend the parish of St. LUKE; it was out of my power to show the falsehood which had been circulated, so much to the prejudice of the character of the leading men of that parish.

This RICHMOND (of whom we shall hear more by-and-by from Mr. WAKLEY, if you act the part of men of sense and of spirit); this RICHMOND told the commissioners that he had been one of the vestry of the parish of St. LUKE; and then he told them, that the vestry expended 20,000*l.* a year on goods bought for the use of the poor; that they purchased these goods of one another, in the parish; that they gave, sometimes, forty per cent. above the market prices; and that these people would oppose the Poor-law Bill, because it took the power of *jobbing* and cheating the parish, out of their hands. In answer to this, the vestry have now made a *publication*, proving that, beginning with the year 1828, and going on to the present time, there has been on an average of years, about a *fifth* part of the goods purchased, purchased in the parish. That the total amount has been on an average about *six* thousand, instead of twenty thousand; that four-sixths have been contracted for by public advertisement; and that of the rest, only about *one-fifth* has been purchased in the parish.

Now, this is most particularly stated in full, in a published paper put forth by the vestry, dated the 5. of June, 1834; and not a word of this has yet been *heard of in Parliament*! Instead of 20,000*l.* a year being expended, not 7,000*l.* has been expended in any one year since *Richmond* came into the parish;

instead of 20,000*l.* a year having been expended with tradesmen in the parish, only 1,040*l.* has upon an average been expended with tradesmen in the parish.

The vestry, to be sure, have had the power to publish a paper; and they have sent it round to the press, and I published it in my *Register* last week; but what is this compared to a defence of the parish in Parliament! What is this, compared to an exposure of the falsehoods contained in this Poor-law Commissioners' Report; and which falsehoods are to be the foundation of the passing of this horrible bill! Yes, this instance of the monstrous jobbing of the parish of St. LUKE is made the pretence for the passing of this bill.

And, where were your two members of Parliament? Did you go to them? Did you go to them and say, "Here are we most grossly defamed, in a book laid before Parliament by the Government: here are we represented as robbers of our neighbours: defend us before that Parliament, to whom we have been defamed"? Did you do this? no: it would have been useless for you to do it. One of your members would have been busy, applying the law of libel, perhaps, with a fee from the Government: your other member would have been busy in receiving his salary out of the taxes; or in preparing a speech to be made in defence of this bill. At any rate, he could not have performed his duty towards you, and have kept his word with the Ministry at the same time: he could not have defended you without proving the falsehood of the reports of the commissioners, and thereby taking from the bill the very best of its pretences.

Well, then, what good has the parliamentary reform done to you? None at all: not a pin is it worth to you at this present time: that which I am doing for you I should have done, if there had been no parliamentary reform. Yet, if it has been of no use to you, take the blame to yourselves. You ought to have known, and you must have known, that your two members would act as they have done; and the question now is, whether, having seen

the effects of your past conduct, you will now take care not to do the like again. I know not who may be stuck up to oppose Mr. WAKLEY; but, this I know, that of all the men whom I am acquainted with, I know not a man so likely to make a successful stand against that which threatens to take from us the last vestige of our freedom. It is useless to plead with you; useless to use any words, other than to point out to you that which I have pointed out: you well know the ability of Mr. WAKLEY; you well know his talents, his courage, and his disregard of any thing that the greedy great can say of him or do to him. Ten such men in Parliament would make a great change in the affairs of this world; against ten such men that which is now going on could not go on, without coming to an open and avowed and complete disregard of all the settled laws, usages, customs, and principles of English government.

Gentlemen, I need say no more; and indeed I can say no more, without wasting words. Experience points out to you your duty to your country: do that duty, and your children will bless you; neglect it, and they will entertain for your memory sentiments which I will not express. I cannot conclude, however, without observing, in justice to you, that, from every thing that I hear, you are resolved to do that duty; in the doing of which you will entitle yourselves to thanks and to the lasting praise of every man in the kingdom; and to those of no man more sincerely than

Your friend,

And most humble and obedient servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P. S. Though I published the defence of the vestry of St. LUKE, last week, I here republish it, it being of the utmost importance that the public, and that the members of both Houses of Parliament, should see it, and well attend to it, before the final discussion upon the horrible bill, which, I repeat for the fiftieth time, I believe never can pass the House of Lords, if it pass the House of Commons; and which, if attempted

to be executed, will, I verily believe, produce in England events far beyond the imagination even of those who are alarmed at the prospect. The country people are beginning to understand what is intended for them; they are beginning to understand what is intended to be their lot; and they are beginning to consider of the means of protection which they shall make use of.

DEFENCE OF THE PARISH OF ST. LUKE
AGAINST THE CHARGES PREFERRED
IN THE POOR-LAW COMMISSIONERS'
REPORT.

Saint Luke, Middlesex.

At a general meeting of the vestrymen of this parish, held in the church on Thursday, the 5. of June, 1834, publicly convened, to take into consideration certain evidence said to have been given by Mr. RICHMOND, one of the guardians of the poor of this parish, to the commissioners of the poor-laws, as printed in their Report: viz. "When I came into office it was a recognised principle that the purchase of commodities for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesmen of the parish. The effects of the patronage incident to the purchase of goods to the amount of upwards of 20,000*l.* per annum, from shopkeepers within the parish, patronage exercised by a Board who are themselves shopkeepers, or connected with shopkeepers, may well be conceived. For several years I have contended, but unsuccessfully, for the universal application of the principle that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, provided they gave the requisite securities for the due performance of the contract. On investigating the purchases of goods within the parish, I found that some of the charges were upwards of 40 per cent. above the market prices. Whatever opposition may be made against an extensive or efficient reform, or generalization of the management of the funds for the relief of the poor, will be based on the

"retention of parochial patronage and power, although such a motive will never be ostensibly avowed. I have no doubt they will even assume that extended management will be more profuse than their own."

Mr. WILLIAM WOOD, Churchwarden,
in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously,—That the statement made by Mr. Richmond, to the commissioners of poor-law inquiry is utterly *without foundation in truth*, because it is clearly proved that instead of its being a "recognised principle," that the purchase of goods for parochial consumption should be confined to the tradesmen of the parish, upon an average of the last seven years, five-sixths of the sums laid out have been expended with persons living out of the parish; that instead of goods being purchased to the amount of 20,000*l.* per annum, the whole amount has very little exceeded 6,000*l.* upon an average, and has not in any one year amounted to 7,000*l.*, and of that sum only 1,040*l.* per annum, upon an average, instead of upwards of 20,000*l.* has been expended with tradesmen in the parish; that instead of Mr. Richmond having had to contend unsuccessfully for the universal application of the principle, that contracts should be taken from those who made the lowest tenders, wherever they resided, that principle was in operation long before Mr. Richmond entered the parish, and continues to the present time, it being the regular practice to contract for the supply of all the principal articles of consumption with those who made the lowest tender, whether they resided in or out of the parish, after advertisements in the daily papers; that instead of the purchase of goods being used as a means of patronage and power, the tradesmen employed to serve the parish with those articles that could not be contracted for, have frequently been persons opposed to the guardians of the poor upon parochial matters, as was the case in the person alluded to by Mr. Richmond, who made an overcharge upon an article amounting to 30*s.*, and was detected (but not

by Mr. Richmond), and was declared by the guardian board disqualified from ever supplying goods to the workhouse again.

That the following tabular statement details the exact amounts of the whole expenditure in the purchase of goods during the last seven years, together with the manner in which those goods have been obtained :

Years ending Lady-day	1828	1829	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834
Gross amount paid for Goods	£ 6536	6984	6255	5342	6441	5940	5483
Out of which contracted for by public advertisement ..	4559	4555	4641	3712	4411	4526	4281
Not contracted for	1977	2429	1614	1624	2030	1414	1202
Of which bought out of the parish	578	940	614	611	872	945	445
Bought in the parish	£ 1399	1489	1000	1013	1158	469	757

And, are not these parties to be called to account? Are not the poor-law commissioners and RICHMOND to be called to the bar of the House, instead of sitting under the gallery? Is the House to have palmed upon it statements like this, coming from authority; and is *nobody* to be made answerable for the statement? God Almighty! Are guardians

and directors of a parish to be thus libelled; and is nobody upon the face of the earth to be answerable? Poor Mr. COHEN was punished for an alleged libel upon the magistrates, and which every disinterested person declared to be no libel at all. A thing which is published by order of the House of Commons, or House of Lords, has been held to be no libel, though republished all over the kingdom. This was new law laid down by old KENYON, in the case of WRIGHT of Piccadilly, who republished a very gross libel on a gentleman in Ireland, that libel having been first printed by order of the House of Commons, or House of Lords, I forget which; so that a man may be utterly destroyed in this manner with impunity to the destroying parties; and thus stands this parish of St. LUKE; thus stand the gentlemen belonging to that vestry, held up to the detestation and scorn of the whole kingdom; but, surely, the House itself will not tolerate injustice like this: the House has been misled by this false report; and it is for the vestry of St. LUKE to demand justice, and for their members to urge a compliance with that demand. How this matter may end I cannot say; but, at any rate, I have the power to prevent this matter from being passed over in silence, and prevent it I will.

INFERNAL PAPER-MONEY.

THE United States of America; and particularly the farmers and working men of those states, now headed by the bravest man of which the history of the world affords us any knowledge; those states, and particularly those people, to whose bravery and to whose virtue, the world owes that there is anything worthy of the name of freedom left in it; those people have resolved to get rid of the blighting curse of paper-money. From the first; from the issuing of the President's reasons for his veto; from that moment, I, who pretended to no merit on account of the prediction, because I must have been a sheer fool not to have known the fact; I predicted that, if the democracy of the

country once clearly understood the matter, they would put an end to the paper-money completely; and that would, in a very short time, put an end to our paper-money. The President's reasons for his veto convinced me that he understood the nature of the abominable fraud. His character, which I well knew, convinced me that he would never cease (having the power) till he had destroyed the fraud, root and branch; the question then was, Will the people stand by the President? This question was put to me by innumerable persons in London; my answer to which was, *They will* stand by him if the paper-money villains have not the cunning to deceive them. Every thing, therefore, would depend upon this; whether they would clearly understand the tendency of the fraud. They have shown that they do understand it well: they stand by the President; and the paper-money crew are smitten with fear; their knees knock together; their teeth chatter in their heads; and they look as our fat pensioners will look, when the pensions shall be taken from them; when the hammer shall be presented to them, and when they shall be bidden to crack a load of stones for ninepence, before they shall eat; and that look will only be equalled by the look of a cowardly murderer, when he sees the halter about to be put round his neck.

I have a right to glory in the events which are now taking place. *Before the Bank was established*, I warned the American Congress, and the American people, fully warned them of the dangerous consequences. I will now proceed to inform my English readers of the present state of things in the United States, with regard to this infernal paper-money.

The charter of the Bank provides, that the governors and directors shall, upon demand being made for that purpose by the House of Representatives, submit to the inspection of that House, all their accounts, books, and papers of every description. The President has charged the governor and directors, not only with

malversation as to money affairs, but of making use of their pecuniary means, in order to carry on a conspiracy against the freedom of the country. In order to ascertain the truth of these charges of the President, the House of Representatives have called upon the governor and the directors of the Bank to produce all accounts and books, &c., agreeably to the provision in the charter. With this order, clearly legal, and manifestly just and reasonable, the insolent villains have refused to comply; and, as will be seen by the extract which I am about to insert from a New York paper, dated 31. May, the House had ordered these sons of fraud to be *taken into custody by their sergent-at-arms and brought to their bar!* I said, some time back, that it must come to this; or that the people must go and take NICHOLAS BIDDLE and fling him out into the street, and take all his books and papers and burn them. I knew that it must be so; I knew that these vagabonds would never produce accounts and books and correspondences; I knew that they would never produce the proof of the *support which they had received from England*; and they will not do it now. There will be a great *burning of papers* before they go to WASHINGTON. The Congress should have issued an order, which should have accompanied the summons, to seize all their books and papers at once. I think the President should have issued such an order, on a charge of conspiracy or treason against the state, and have brought the vagabonds into the Supreme Court. However, I dare say that he has done that which is just and that which is wise; and that, in the end, all the treasonable correspondence with England will come out; for that there has been such correspondence with persons in England, I have not the smallest doubt.

Now, then, I insert the intelligence, which is very dismal for the money-mongers, and for the greedy landlords in England; for, they will see that all their schemes must fail; that the people of England will never come down to potatoes and sea-weed, so long as

the United States shall remain what they hitherto have been.

REPORT OF THE BANK COMMITTEE.

(From the *New York Working Man's Advocate*, 31. May, 1834.)

We deem it unnecessary to publish in full the report of the Bank Committee, giving a long account of their repeated attempts to carry into effect the resolution of the House of Representatives, directing them to investigate the affairs of the Bank, agreeably to the 23. section of its charter, which provides,

"That it shall be at all times lawful for a committee of either House of Congress appointed for that purpose, to inspect the books and examine into the proceedings of the corporation hereby created, and to report whether the provisions of its charter have been violated or not."

The following is an extract from the report :

In 1818, Mr. Spencer, of New York, offered to the House of Representatives a resolution providing for the appointment of a committee to inspect the books, and examine into the proceedings of the Bank. In the debate to which that resolution gave rise, the opinions now entertained by your committee, were well expressed by many distinguished gentlemen. For presenting short extracts from one of the speeches then made, no apology, it is supposed, will be needed. Mr. Lowndes said he had no apprehension of defect of power in the House to prosecute the inquiry in the terms proposed. He had no doubt of the power of the House if the public interest required it, to direct a committee to make such a report. The nation, said he, has a deep interest in the conduct and management of the Bank ; our duty to the people whom we represent, the nation's interest, as owners of a large portion of the stock, its interest in the revenues being wholly payable in the notes of the Bank, will justify a constant and vigilant attention to its proceedings. If there had been a doubt whether the con-

duct of the Bank had been proper or not, the House was fully justified in investigating into the facts, and inquiring whether abuses had been committed or not. He would vote for an inquiry in its broadest shape."

The resolution of Mr. Spencer was adopted, and a committee appointed, who visited the principal Bank at Philadelphia, and some of its branches. They had free, unrestrained access to the books and papers of the Bank. They were furnished by the officers with such extracts and copies from the books and papers as they called for. They summoned before them the directors and officers of the Bank, and examined them on oath touching their conduct and proceedings ; and the committee made to the House on the 16. January, 1819, an elaborate report, from which we learn that their inquiries had been chiefly directed "to the general management of the Bank and the conduct of its officers." The transactions of private citizens with the Bank were then freely and fully examined. Individual transactions of the president and directors of the Bank in the purchase of its stock were fully investigated, and those officers sworn and required to testify before the committee. Though deeply affected, personally and officially, by these developments, they never hesitated or objected to obey the process, or to give their testimony.

The names of the borrowers from the Bank were published without scruple, with the amount of money due from each, whenever, and not otherwise, such a publication was deemed necessary to illustrate the improper conduct or maladministration of its officers.

This precedent, to which the committee of 1832 strictly conformed, is entitled to high respect from the eminent character of those by whom it was established, and who have justly enjoyed high reputations for purity of purpose and distinguished attainments.

If any additional reason for deference to this contemporaneous construction of the twenty-third section be necessary, it may be found in the fact that the directors of the Bank in 1819 themselves assented to it. They conceded to the com-

mittee of the House the right to inspect all their books and papers in such a manner as that committee thought just and proper. Besides, those who now have the management of the Bank in 1832, without question of right, without hesitation, without protest, produced for the inspection of the committee of the House, all their books, papers, correspondence and accounts, and appeared when summoned, and testified on oath touching the transactions of the institution under their control.

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The committee conclude the account of their fruitless attempts to obtain the desired information as follows :

Thus your committee conclude, the just power and authority of the House of Representatives have been set at naught, defied and contemned.

Thus, the charter of the Bank of the United States has been deliberately violated, by repeated refusals of the directors of that corporation to submit their books and papers to the inspection of this committee.

Thus have the just expectations of the House and of their constituents been disappointed, and all means of obtaining the best and most accurate information concerning the operations of a controlling monied institution, been cut off and denied.

It remains for the House and the country to decide how far this conduct of that directory has been dictated by their solemn duty, as declared, to protect the interests of others committed specially to their protection. How far it conforms to those principles of action which are based on conscious integrity and uprightness of purpose, which defies scrutiny, and invites investigation; and how far it shall be received as a plea of guilty to the high misdemeanours which they insist have been charged against the corporation of which they have the management and control.

These grave questions, with others growing out of the transactions and proceedings, are left to be decided by the House of Representatives.

To elicit those opinions the following

resolutions are most respectively submitted :

1. Resolved, That by the charter of the Bank of the United States, the right was expressly reserved to either House of Congress, by the appointment of a committee to inspect the books, and to examine into the proceedings of the said Bank, as well as to ascertain if at any time it had violated its charter.

2. Resolved, That the resolution of the House of Representatives, passed on the 4. of April, 1834, for the appointment of a committee, with full powers to make the investigations embraced in said resolution, was in accordance with the provisions of the charter of said Bank and the power of this House.

3. Resolved, That the president and board of directors of the Bank of the United States, by refusing to submit for inspection the books and papers of the Bank, as called for by the committee of the House of Representatives, have contemned the legitimate authority of the House, asserting for themselves powers and privileges not contemplated by the framers of their charter, nor in fairness deducible from any of the terms or provisions of that instrument.

4. Resolved, That either House of Congress has the right to compel the production of any such books or papers as have been called for by their committee, and also to compel said president and directors to testify to such interrogatories as were necessary to a full and perfect understanding of the proceedings of the Bank at any period within the term of its existence.

5. Resolved, That the Speaker of this House do issue his warrant to the Sergeant-at-Arms, to arrest Nicholas Biddle, President, Manuel Eyre, Lawrence Lewis Ambrose White, Daniel W. Cox, John Holmes, Charles Chauncey, John Goddard, John R. Neff, William Platt, Matthew Newkirk, James C. Fisher, John S. Henry, and John Sergeant, directors of the Bank of the United States, and bring them to the bar of this House, to answer for their contempt of its lawful authority.

Thus stood the matter when my latest papers came away. It was thought that some of the treacherous villains would "bolt," and come over and join the American conspirators already in London. No matter; the harpies' nest is rummaged up; the monstrous fraud is stricken to the heart. When the news came away, the infernal paper was gradually disappearing, and specie gradually increasing, at the rate of *nearly three millions of dollars in a week*: this specie must go principally from England; a good deal from France; and then will *work* the nests of paper-monsters in these two countries: it will assist to keep down the price of wheat in England; and it will soon produce a dissolution of the whole fraud; and the white-fingered discounters must go to sweep the streets, or to the cracking of stones.

That the industrious classes in America understand this matter well; that they understand it to the very bottom, and clearly see the manner in which it robs them of the fruit of their labour, is clear from the following document which has been published at NEW YORK, which every reader should go through with the greatest attention. It is an account of the organization of the working men, for the purpose of ridding the country of paper-money, by the means of which they are fraudulently robbed of their earnings. The reader will be astonished that working men should possess such perfect and profound knowledge on a subject so intricate. I admire the depth of knowledge, I admire the reasoning, I admire the ability of statement, in this incomparable paper; and I, above all things, admire the resolution taken, to adopt the effectual means of shutting out of every legislature, in future, every man who shall not, under his hand, certify himself to be an enemy of all paper-money. The American traitors who are now in London, at work for NICHOLAS BIDDLE and Co. must tremble as they read this paper. The reader will observe that they call the Bank of NICHOLAS BIDDLE, the "BRITISH BANK." Ah! They see through the whole of the conspiracy!

They see who is at the *bottom* of the whole; they see that the base and cowardly imps of hell, who are everlastingly seeking the destruction of freedom all over the world, are the principals, and that NICHOLAS BIDDLE and his crew, are only the underlings; they see that the base and bloody-minded villains on this side of the water intended to destroy them, or to make them slaves by the means of this paper-money. They should know, and perhaps they do know, that there is a whole crew of American traitors now in London, keeping up a communication with NICHOLAS BIDDLE and Co. They should, if possible, find out who they are, and publish their names; they should watch their return to the United States, and inflict vengeance on the monsters; for, these villains should not be suffered to escape punishment of some sort. When a warrant was served on the vile miscreants at PHILADELPHIA to give up their books and papers, they said, "that the war that they were carrying on was a defensive one; that they had been assisted by many '*eminent citizens*' in the carrying on of this war; and that they were resolved not to *give up their names*." A rope round NICHOLAS BIDDLE's neck, which the people ought to put, and he in a cart under the limb of a tree, would make the villain give up the names of the eminent citizens. In short, the plot for the destruction of American liberty has been carried on on this side of the Atlantic. I have been informed, and I believe the fact, that a great American banker, who is here, and who is closely connected with, if not living with, a leviathan money-monger, well known in America, said, about the month of February last, speaking of the working people in America: "D—n them, they shall starve or have bank-notes: we will pay some of them, when they are hungry, and they will shoot at the rest, and make them submit quietly to a Government fit for a gentleman to live under." This scoundrel is *here, now*; and it signifies not to talk, punishment must be inflicted on this monster, as well as others. I now insert the manifesto of

the working men, to which I beg to call the best attention of my readers.

WORKING MAN'S MEETING.

ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING MEN OPPOSED TO PAPER-MONEY.

(From the *Working Man's Advocate*.)

At an adjourned public meeting of working men opposed to paper-money and banking, and to all licensed monopolies, held at Military-hall, Bowery, New York, 15. May, 1834, Joel Curtis was called to the chair, George H. Evans and Dr. Crocheron were appointed vice-presidents, and William S. Conely and John Windt were chosen secretaries.

The minutes of the last meeting and the call of this were read and approved, and after some remarks from Mr. E. J. Webb, Mr. John Windt, from a committee appointed at a former meeting, reported the following preamble and resolutions :

The committee appointed to prepare a preamble and resolutions for the consideration of the meeting respectfully submit the following :

A crisis has occurred in the affairs of our country that demands from the useful and industrious classes of the community, a watchfulness, union, and perseverance not inferior to that which declared and sustained the independence of the United States, if the preservation of liberty and the enjoyment of the fruits of honest labour be objects worthy their regard. For nearly half a century, paper-money aristocracies, under the name of "BANKS," have been, through the wicked and unconstitutional acts of the national and state governments, increasing with our growth, until they have now gained an almost entire control of the industry of the republic, by which the reward of labour is wrested from the hand that earns it, and devoured by those who toil not, and who even despise that labour and the labourer through whom their ill-gotten wealth is obtained. Never yet have those, who suffer most from these iniquitous establishments, risen in their strength to sweep them away, but the time has at last come when the field ought to be taken against

them, never to be relinquished, until paper-money shall close its fraudulent and polluted existence in our land : Therefore,

Resolved, That it is the duty of all who desire the permanent freedom, prosperity, and happiness of our republic, to unite for the purpose of abolishing gradually but completely, the system of money without value, or paper-money, which is the source and support of the principal evils that oppress not only the interests of labour, but every valuable interest.

Resolved, That both the national and state legislatures, in chartering bands of speculators for making paper-money, and afterwards supporting and legalizing the spurious trash, by authorizing and permitting it to be received and paid out as real money, have violated the constitution under which they legislate, as thus, in effect, it is made a "legal tender," at the same time perpetrating a great moral wrong in giving it this unreal value, which has laid the foundation of one of the most extensive systems of fraud ever practised on any people, and leading to a complication of political, social, and moral evil, unparalleled from any other cause.

Resolved, That as despicable as our rag-money system is in itself, it has completely subjugated the community to its despotic and ruinous sway, and is utterly subversive of public liberty ; the banks furnishing, by means of their notes, nearly all the circulating medium, their irresponsible directors may expand or contract that circulation as their caprice or cupidity may dictate, and thus raise or depress prices, and by the same means are able to produce far greater distress and ruin than has yet been endured ; while the only check to this tremendous power is their own private interests, or what they may consider as such !!

Resolved, That we need no other proof of the dreadfully pernicious effects of banking and paper-money than a survey of the state of the republic at the present time, when, in the midst of profound peace and a superabundance of the necessities of life,

great pecuniary distress and stagnation of business exist, with frequent bankruptcies, the remote and immediate consequences of banking operations.

Resolved, That the usual excuses for the existence of paper-money, as "furnishing capital," "commercial facilities," &c., are specious sophisms and founded not in truth, and tending only to deceive the producer and betray the mercantile man, being mere facilities for seizing the fruits of labour without giving an equivalent.

Resolved, That we consider the present mode of extensive business credit (the legitimate offspring of our banking and false money system) highly injurious, and productive of far more evil than advantage to the reputable merchant and trader; for, by it, they are subjected to long credits and uncertain receipts from customers, while bound to banks by short credits and liable to uncertain "accommodations"; the least "pressure" prostrating hundreds; but under the cash business gold and silver would produce, they would transact a safe business with a fair profit, unenslaved by bank directors, and unhampered by protests, &c.

Resolved, That we view the "safety-fund law" as perfectly in character with the banking and paper-money system, being a miserable deception, which when most needed will be of least service.

Resolved, That the contemplated mortgage of the industry and property of this state, by the six-million-loan law, in the principle it involves, and the example it sets, is one of the most atrocious legislative acts ever passed in the state; and taken in all its parts, and under all its circumstances, it will itself sufficiently demonstrate to the mind of every intelligent and reflecting citizen the absurd and injurious character of the wretched paper-money tyranny to which the commonwealth is at present chained.

Resolved, That every legislator voting in favour of bestowing exclusive privileges, or monopolizing advantages to any individual or individuals, is a practical enemy to the free institutions of

our country, and the equal rights intended to be secured by the constitution to all.

Resolved, That we earnestly invite the farmers, mechanics, and other working men and merchants, in every state of the union, to unite their exertions in putting down the system of counterfeit money, which, though finally injurious to every class, is peculiarly so to them at all times.

The preamble and resolutions having been read by Mr. Windt, were again read by the chairman; the question was taken on each separately, and all were unanimously adopted except the one relating to the state loan, for which, after some discussion, the following substitute, offered by Mr. Webb, was adopted by a large majority:

Resolved, That, under existing circumstances, the mortgage loan was needful to the state institutions, in order to paralyze the intended attack meditated by the British Bank. We, therefore, refrain from complaint. Still, we believe the act so direfully needed, a gross, flagrant, unconstitutional abuse of power; an act in turpitude like that of a gambler in desperate circumstances, who blows out his brains rather than see his ruined family.

On motion, the safety-fund resolution was then reconsidered, and discussed at some length, but the resolution was sustained.

Mr. William Froment offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That we do not believe, with the advocates of banks, that they are beneficial to poor enterprising men, for the rich get so large a portion of the paper-money, as enables them to monopolize almost every kind of business, and thus live on the labour of the poor.

A plan for the organization of the working men opposed to paper-money and to all licensed monopolies, on the principle of requiring a pledge from candidates for the state and legislatures, that they will, if elected, oppose the chartering of any monopolies, and endeavour to procure the passage of a law

abolishing bank-notes of a less denomination than twenty dollars within five years, was offered and adopted.

PLAN OF ORGANIZATION OF THE WORKING MEN OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK.

1. There shall be ward associations.
2. There shall be a general committee, composed of two delegates from each ward association.

3. The general committee shall be empowered to call general meetings of the associations; to require the ward associations to nominate candidates for public office; to take cognizance of the business of general meetings and elections; and to perform such other duties as may be required of them by their associations. Meetings of the committee shall be called by its chairman and secretary. The necessary funds shall be supplied by the associations.

4. It shall be in the power of each ward association, at all times, to change its delegation to the committee.

5. Until a district system is obtained, each ward shall be required to nominate its candidate for county, state, and United States officers, and to publish the nominations at least three times in a daily newspaper; and out of the number of nominations thus published, who will subscribe to the pledge given below, the proper number shall be selected by ballot, at a general meeting of the associations.

6. At the first regular meeting of each ward association, after the general committee shall require the associations to make nominations for county, state, and United States officers, candidates for each office may be proposed, and at an adjourned or regular meeting, at least three days afterwards the members present shall ballot for one candidate for each office, from the number so proposed. Candidates for charter officers shall be proposed and nominated in the same manner.

7. In case there shall not be a sufficient number of candidates nominated for any office by the ward associations, the general meeting of the associations shall supply the deficiency.

8. The following shall be the form of the constitution of the ward associations.

CONSTITUTION OF THE — WARD WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION.

PREAMBLE.

Believing as we do that the only legitimate object of legislation is the defence of the lives, liberties, and equal individual rights of the governed, and that all legislation beyond this is mischievous. That paper-money, chartered companies, exclusive auctions, and every other invention by which wealth is favoured at the expense of poverty and intriguing speculation at the expense of the people, are pernicious. That our present complicated, perplexing, and tedious system of civil law, is partial and unjust in its operations. That imprisonment for debt, or the deprivation of personal liberty without crime, or of life for any crime whatever, is cruel and barbarous in the one case, and uncalled for by the exigencies of the community in the other. That the present compulsory militia system, whilst it encourages immorality and oppresses the poor, is productive of no one good effect. That unequal taxation by which the poor man is compelled to pay as much as the rich, whilst certain descriptions of proprietary, to an enormous amount, are totally exempted, is oppressive and unjust. That every act of legislation on religion, is dangerous to the liberties of the republic; and that a system of equal republican education, a system which shall place equal facilities for the intellectual and useful training of their offspring within the reach of all, is imperiously called for. We whose names are hereunto subscribed, with a view to effect, by the more general diffusion of our principles, a peaceful and constitutional correction of existing abuses, and to promote, to the utmost in our power, the momentous object of educational reform, as well as the more immediate purpose of the moral cultivation and improvement of ourselves, do associate and

agree to adopt for our government the following

CONSTITUTION.

Art. I. This association shall be known by the name of "The — Ward Working Man's Political Association."

Art. II. The officers of this association shall be a president, a vice-president, a recording secretary, a corresponding secretary, and a treasurer.

Art. III. Two delegates to a general committee shall be chosen.

Art. IV. Any person may become a member of this association, a majority concurring on a vote by ballot, on signing the constitution and paying one shilling or more as an initiation fee.

Art. V. Regular meetings of the association shall be held on the first Monday evening of each month. Special meetings may be called by the president, or by ten members.

Art. VI. The funds of this association shall consist of initiation fees of one shilling or more for each member, monthly collections of one shilling from each member, and donations; which shall be appropriated for necessary expenses, and for advancing the objects of the association.

Art. VII. Members may be dismissed from the association by the vote of a majority of members present at a regular meeting.

Art. VIII. Discussions on subjects of religious or irreligious character shall be prohibited in this association.

Art. IX. This constitution shall not be altered or amended but by the vote of a majority of the members present at a general meeting of the association, notice of the alteration or amendment having been given at a previous general meeting.

PLEDGE

FOR CANDIDATES FOR THE STATE AND NATIONAL LEGISLATURES.

I, the subscriber, being proposed as a candidate for [*the State Legislature or Congress*] do hereby certify, that I have not now, and PLEDGE myself that I will not during my term of office, should I be elected, nor for one year thereafter, have

any pecuniary interest, direct or indirect, in any banking or other chartered company; that, if elected, I will oppose the recharter of any such company, or the charter of any new one; and that I will use the utmost of my endeavours to procure the passage of a law prohibiting the circulation of bank-notes of the denomination of one dollar, in [*this state or district of Columbia*] at the end of six months, two-dollar notes at the end of twelve months, three-dollar notes at the end of eighteen months, five-dollar notes at the end of two years, and ten-dollar notes at the end of three years from the passage thereof, or sooner.

POOR-LAW BILL.

I wish to direct the reader's attention to the following extract from the Poor-Law Commissioners' report, made from Scotland. The reader will see, that the real object at bottom is, to do away with all assessments for the relief of the poor in Scotland as well as in England, and to bring them all to the condition of Ireland. He will also see how widely the witnesses differ from the commissioners in their account of the effect of the management of the Scotch.

EXTRACT

From the Poor-Law Commissioners' Reports. Appendix A. Part II.

The assistant commissioners who were appointed to inquire into the operation of the poor-laws in Scotland, in addition to their separate reports, beg to make some joint observations on one important topic. These will be rather in the nature of a general deduction from the evidence they have collected, than the addition of new facts, and hence the writers may be charged with stepping out of their proper province and trespassing on the duties of the central board. But they are induced to take this course, as Scotland, not having been included in the commission issued by his Majesty's Government, the circulars of queries were not transmitted

to any part of that kingdom, and consequently the assistant commissioners who were sent there, are in possession of the only evidence that was furnished by that portion of the empire.

The point to which these observations are intended to be directed, is the all-important one of the policy of having any poor-law at all; whether there are any sufficient reasons why a statute should exist enforcing any public provision for the poor.

For deciding this question, Scotland offers facilities which are not to be met with in any other part of the United Kingdom. In England and Wales no parish is without poor-laws; in Ireland no parish is with them; in Scotland the two systems are co-existent. Whole counties are to be met with, where the poor-laws have never been enforced, and others in precisely the same natural circumstances, where they have existed for a century. Again, parishes with poor-laws are to be met with in the middle of districts which have none; and conversely, parishes which have none, surrounded by places where they are in full operation. Many parishes which have never been assessed, have lately introduced the poor-laws, and the good or ill effects of the change may be accurately traced; while, on the other hand, some places offer the converse example of the abolition of their poor-laws, having been previously subjected to them. All these different conditions obviously present opportunities of judging of the two systems, which are not and cannot be paralleled in any other part of the kingdom.

But there are other peculiarities belonging to Scotland, which still further assist our investigations into this point. It is always maintained by those who are favourable to the principle of a compulsory provision for the poor, that the evils of the English poor-laws are owing to the abuses in their administration. Scotland affords a test of the truth of this opinion. Here the English abuses are wholly unknown; the difference in the enactments which enforce the rate and regulate its issue, set barriers to their introduction; and the arguers

for poor-laws are doubtless in the right, when they assert, that the Scottish system is the very perfection of a poor-law, at least as near as human institutions can go. If then it can be shown, that in spite of these advantages, wherever poor-laws have been introduced, evil has resulted, it will go far to prove that the *sound policy is to aim at their entire abolition.*

Now nearly all the evidence which the assistant commissioners have been able to collect from personal inspection, or from hearsay, from statistical facts, or from the opinions of persons conversant with their operation, goes to prove that the principle of poor-laws is injurious; that the very basis on which all poor-laws must be founded, the giving to the distressed a right to relief, is essentially productive of evil. Benevolence is the usual ground on which they are defended; and the English statute, which says that no one shall die of hunger, is constantly held up as the model of humane and enlightened legislation. Any one who holds a contrary opinion is instantly assailed with the question, "Would you allow a poor person to die of hunger?" The answer to this is, that in a well-regulated community the fear is wholly groundless. In those parts of Scotland where the poor-laws are unknown, no instance of a person perishing for want of relief exists *on record*; on the contrary, these are just the places in which destitution is most infrequent; and furthermore it can be shown that this absence of destitution is owing to the absence of poor-laws. So far, indeed, are we from allowing that these laws deserve the epithets "*humane and enlightened*," it is our firm impression that, however benevolent in design, they present glaring examples of inhuman and misdirected legislation.

The most infallible method of increasing the number of poor in a parish is to assess it, as will be seen by referring to those parishes mentioned in the preceding reports, where assessments exist, from which it will appear that the number of poor in the receipt of regular relief is twice as great in the assessed

places as in the unassessed ones. An equally efficacious mode of diminishing poverty in a parish, is to return to the ancient system; unhappily, few instances of such a return can be pointed out, but the examples of St. John's and Dirleton afford incontestable proof of the success with which the *retracing* process may be conducted.

The effect which assessments have in repressing charitable feelings amongst the poor is very striking; even Ireland offers an aspect comparatively favourable in this view. Dr. Doyle, in his Irish evidence, declares, that if he were to speak till the sun went down, he could not convey a just picture of the benevolence prevailing in the minds and hearts of the lowest classes in that country. Those who are acquainted with the southern counties of England, must be aware that this description is wholly untrue of them; it is partially true of the assessed parts of Scotland, and entirely true of the unassessed.

The increased poverty which accompanies an assessment is partially relieved by it, as the sums given to the poor where a rate is levied, are usually six or seven times as much as are distributed among an equal population without rates; but it must necessarily leave a large circle of misery unalleviated, of misery which itself has created, and which it would be too small to alleviate were the amount levied increased so as to absorb the whole land rental. But the immorality which an assessment engenders is its most mournful result, an evil which it tends continually to enlarge, and to which it is incompetent to apply an iota of remedy. Its progress is marked by an evident relaxation of industry, by an increase of bastardy, by the forsaking of aged parents by their children, and by a gradual decay of the spirit of independence and forethought. That these are the never-failing effects of assessments is the opinion of nine-tenths of those *who administer* the poor-laws in Scotland, of persons who have managed parishes under both systems, and who consequently have had every opportunity of investigating their respective

merits. To some of these persons we beg to refer.

The opinion of Dr. Chalmers is too well known to require repetition; we shall only then remark on the injustice that is done him, when he is accused (as he usually is by his opponents) of being a mere theoretical philosopher, issuing his dicta from his closet; whereas he passed many years of his life in a retired country parish, and also in the largest city in Scotland; in both places he applied his views to practice, and the success which then followed them has continued to attend them since his superintendence has been withdrawn. We may also mention as authority the Rev. Mr. McClellan, the minister of Kelton, Dr. Duncan, of Ruthwell, the Rev. Mr. Monteith, of Dalkeith, Lord Napier, of Etterick; the two first residing in parishes which have never been assessed, and the two latter being at this moment employed in bringing back their respective parishes to the condition of the ancient Scotch economy, from which assessments had degraded them, and with every prospect, we may say the certainty, of success.

The evils which spring from poor-rates are not peculiar to them, and may flow from many other causes, the variety of which serve to complicate and perplex the question. Almshouses, soup and clothing societies may be more truly described as encouragers of pauperism than as relievers of want; and we may mention that the celebrated Heriot's hospital is now considered by many persons in Edinburgh, who have long paid a close attention to its effects, to have been productive of greater evil than good. All the evils of a poor-rate have been created in the parish of Caerlaverock by the fatal gift of Dr. Hutton; and the opinion seems general among the administrators of the poor-laws in Scotland, that mortified money is injurious to those parishes which possess it. The same effects may follow from the want of education, from mal-administration of the laws and political commotion. In 1698, Scotland, which had then not a single parish assessed, was as remarkable for poverty,

for murder and misery, as Ireland is now; it is, in evidence that nineteen years of peace, and the education bill, placed it in that high moral condition for which it has ever since been distinguished. We would not be understood as recommending the *immediate* abolition of the English poor-laws; we are simply desirous of stating the conclusion to which we have been led by the preceding evidence, that *all* poor-laws are in their essence impolitic and uncalled for, and that consequently their *final* abolition ought to be the ultimate object of any changes that may be made; an object, however, that it is not supposed can be attained without being preceded by years of careful preparation for it.

E. CARLETON TUFNELL.
P. F. JOHNSTON.

An Account of the State of Pauperism and the Remedies proposed in the Stewartry of Kircudbright, communicated to Mr. Johnston by Mr. Brown, an intelligent and active gentleman at Gatehouse of Fleet.

There is a singularity in the case of pauperism that the very means employed to relieve it, unless prudently and judiciously managed, have a tendency to increase the evil they are intended to prevent, and thus frequently do more harm than good.

The more that is done for the poor the less will they feel inclined to do for themselves, and therefore they should be thrown as much as possible upon their own resources; it is only when their energies are roused by necessity that habits of indolence to which they naturally gravitate can be overcome, and that their ingenuity can be set to work, to find employment for themselves. Necessity, in this as in many other cases, becomes the mother of invention, and calls into action new powers and resources which they probably were not before aware of or conscious that they possessed. The poor would thus be taught to perceive that the chief causes of poverty and also the means of preventing it depend, in a great measure,

on their own conduct, and that nobody can do so much for them as they can do for themselves. It would be desirable that parochial relief were to be restricted to the support of the sick and the aged only, for the great abuse of the poor-laws in England seems to have arisen from relieving able-bodied labourers, by increasing their wages out of the poor-rates; whereas they should have been left to depend on their own resources, and to make up for low wages by greater industry and by practising a more rigid economy; early habits of prudence and frugality would thus be formed by their young families, and a foundation laid for future comfort and independence. Early marriages, to which parochial relief has given rise, have greatly tended to the increase of poverty. Education would help to counteract this evil, as it would inspire them with a taste for comforts and with a spirit of independence, and with an ambition to better their circumstances and to endeavour to rise in the world, which are the great forces that set all industry in motion, and make life so busy a scene. As the taste and intelligence of the labouring classes improved their wants would increase, and a proportional increase of industry would be called forth to supply these wants; and when they saw that they must depend entirely on their own exertions for the enjoyment of comforts, habits of prudence and a desire for accumulation would be formed, to enable them to provide for a rainy day.

I am sorry to observe that there has lately been a considerable increase of pauperism all over Scotland, and particularly in Galloway, owing I think chiefly to the great influx of Irish labourers, who, from their being content to live in huts, to feed on potatoes, to be clothed in rags, and to have their wives and children occasionally begging, are enabled to underbid or underwork the Scotch labourers, who are thus compelled either to leave the country or to descend into the same level and adopt the same habits, in order to be able to come into a fair competition with them. The Scotch labourers have lost all that proper pride and spirit of

independence which they formerly possessed, and consider it as no disparagement to be put on the poor's roll: this degradation lessens their self-esteem, and has a most demoralizing effect on their character; they feel that they have to a certain degree lost their former station in society, and become more reckless in their conduct and more careless in observing the decencies and enjoying the comforts of life. They have also lost much of that anxiety for the future, which led them to provide for sickness or old age, and much of that caution and prudence in their conduct for which they were formerly so proverbial.

A modified and well-regulated system of poor-laws in Ireland would (whatever might be its effects there) be of very great advantage to the labourers of this country, whose condition would soon be greatly improved, and who would no doubt soon again acquire all their former prudential habits and spirit of independence. This would also be an advantage to Scottish proprietors, for if Irish competition continues they will soon have to pay much more in poor-rates than the amount of any additional increase of wages that would arise from the want of such competition.

Another cause of poverty is the habit of drinking ardent spirits, now become so general among the labouring classes; its effects are most pernicious, not only from injuring their health and paralyzing their industry, but in depraving their character, and rendering them insensible to all respect for public opinion or regard for decency of conduct.

The high duties on malt which have prevented home brewing of beer, and the great number of tippling houses now allowed, have been the chief causes of this unfortunate change in the habits of the people. If the malt-tax were to be greatly reduced and farmers and others again allowed to brew their own beer, I have no doubt that the habits of the people would soon return to what they were in the good old times. This subject is worthy the attention of the legislature, for taxes should be imposed

if possible in such a way as neither to fetter the industry nor injure the moral habits of the people. Excessive taxation however has a demoralizing effect, especially among the lower orders, as it increases poverty with all its train of evils. The support of illegitimate children is often a burden on the kirk-session funds, and the parents often escape on account of the expense that would be incurred in a prosecution to compel them to provide for their offspring.

I have stated some of the chief causes of pauperism, and I am confident that unless some measures are taken to prevent the constant influx of Irish labourers, poor-rates will soon be imposed all over this country. The parish of Girthon contains about 1,700 inhabitants, 1,300 of whom reside in the burgh and the remainder in the country part of the parish.

Gatehouse cotton mills having been stopped several years ago, the houses formerly occupied by the spinners are now inhabited by Irish vagrants, who pay their house rents weekly, and they, in case of sickness or want of work, soon come upon the poor's roll: when any of them leave the place their houses are immediately occupied by other vagrants, who contrive to subsist often by pillage, begging, poaching, &c. The whole of one of the streets of Gatehouse is inhabited by such characters, which is a great nuisance to the place, besides being a burden to the poor funds, and a great loss to the proprietor, who suffers from poaching and the pillaging of his plantations, &c. probably more than a hundred pounds yearly. If a law could be made to compel the feuars or proprietors of houses to support such of their tenants as became paupers, the evil would be completely checked, for there are not more than two or three paupers that belong to the country part of the parish; the paupers in the town being all, or nearly all, Irish. If the time of industrial residence in a parish were extended to seven instead of three years, it would tend to lessen the claims on the poor funds and excite more industry and economy among the labouring classes. It is to be hoped that the

legislature, from the information they will acquire, will be able to devise some means for checking the increase of pauperism in this country. I ought to apologize for the length of this letter, as I feel ashamed, when I consider that the gentleman to whom it is addressed possesses infinitely more knowledge of the subject than his present correspondent can pretend to. I shall be happy to forward the other circulars as soon as I receive them, and to answer any farther queries which you may find it necessary to make on the subject in relation to this part of the country.

A Communication from the Rev. Mr. Colin Smith, of Inverary, to Mr. Johnston, relative to the Management of the Poor in Argyleshire.

The first question to be determined is, Who are the poor? Those whom we acknowledge as entitled to parochial relief are, first, such individuals as are totally incapacitated by age or sickness to earn their own subsistence, and who have neither children nor relatives to assist them, or whose children or relatives are only able to afford a partial relief. This class does not arise at once in any parish. They are the most necessitous, and they are generally persons who have been long upon the list of paupers, and have grown old or sick; sometimes indeed sickness, or the death of a dutiful child, casts the feeble and the aged at once upon the parish; but it may be considered that for the most part they are the individuals who previously composed the second class of paupers, which is formed by such persons as have so much health and strength remaining as to provide a partial subsistence, but who are unfit for any general service. This class consists generally of women from the age of forty-eight to sixty, and it is seldom that a man is admitted into it, or even lays claim to admission. Ill health or some accidental injury does, however, sometimes constrain even men to rank themselves among paupers of this class. The reasons why women crowd this class are, that sometimes ill health unfits

them for labour, and sometimes they become unqualified for general service in families about the age of forty-four or forty-six. Few will hire them after this age. For a year or two they contrive to support themselves by their savings during the past seasons, and by labouring in barking wood in summer, or cutting corn and winnowing hay in harvest. When the few pounds they have saved are spent, nothing remains but the occasional labour in summer or harvest, and the deficiency must be made up by private or public charity. Young widows are often placed in similar circumstances, and maimed men.

The third class is formed of persons who are reduced by peculiar circumstances to temporary distress, and who burden the parish for a short time only, *i. e.* while their distress continues.

The fourth class is composed of the children of paupers, and of delinquents who fly the parish, leaving their unprotected offspring behind, and of lunatics who have no relatives able to support them without assistance.

There is a fifth class of paupers, who belong sometimes to no particular parish, or who are travelling to their native parish, and who require assistance to defray the expense of lodgings and victuals on the road.

As to the mode of ascertaining who ought to be included in any of the above classes of paupers, or in what class any individual ought to be placed, there is often much difficulty, because, as the circumstances of the pauper must determine the measure of relief given him, the third class often endeavour to prolong their apparent distress by finding unlaboured-for money sweet; the second class are sometimes disappointed in procuring service, or disqualified by peculiar circumstances from accepting it; sometimes they are deterred by indolence from doing any thing for their own support, and too often induced by indiscretion to squander the sums they have earned. Sometimes also individuals in each class have relatives or children whose circumstances make it questionable how far the burden of the former should be sustained by the pub-

lie, and occasionally modesty and a love of honest independence make it difficult to discover the destitute or starving situation of persons who ought to have support. In order to ascertain the true claims of each, as well as to discover cases in which charity ought to be exercised, this and the generality of parishes in this country are divided into districts. Each district in the country portion of this parish consists of from twelve to twenty families, and in the burgh of from twenty to thirty families, and over each there is a deacon or elder (both being church officers) placed, whose duty it is to know the pecuniary circumstances as well as the moral habits of each individual intrusted to his care. These elders and deacons are almost always men of tried benevolence, whose religious opinions and moral conduct give an assurance of their interest in the general welfare, and no sooner does any case of distress occur in their bounds than it is made known to them, and they in their turn make it known to the kirk session.

Each elder and deacon have a strong disposition to procure as much relief as possible for their own district, the distress in which they see with a microscopic eye; but in order to prevent any undue relief or partiality to any particular district, there are sometimes in the session gentlemen who know the state of the whole parish, and are able to check any unfair representation which may be made of the situation of an individual, and who, along with the minister, weigh all the cases impartially. In this parish I have considered it my duty to make myself acquainted with the circumstances of every man who is a pauper or likely to become one, to know the number of his family and their situation in life, his relatives, or any other friends upon whom he may have claims for relief; and I believe that in almost every instance I have been enabled to adjudge the sums granted proportionably to the exigencies of the paupers.

When a person requires relief, he applies first to the deacon or elder of his district, then by petition to the session,

who receive more minute accounts of his situation from the said deacon or elder, and appoint one or more other deacons to examine into the situation of the person making application, and to report accordingly.

When a person is discovered to be in want, who from any motives concealed it, the deacon or elder of the district informs the session, and relief is given to him, in a manner which may destroy as possible his love of independence; of course the deacons and elders have no pay; they are gratuitous labourers, rewarded only by the good they do.

The second matter of importance is, What are the funds from which the poor are supplied?

In this and many other parishes in the county there is a fund, arising from money mortified by some benevolent individuals for the poor: these sums are generally very trifling, compared with those required. In the parish of Glenurchy there is 160*l.*; in Kilchlenan, 64*l.*; in Kilbrandon, 65*l.*; in Kilbride, 40*l.*; in Kilmore, 32*l.*; in Kilfinan, 10*l.*; in South Knapdale, 20*l.*; in this parish about 250*l.* The interest only goes to the poor.

The second source from which the poor are supplied is from the collection at the church-door. This varies exceedingly, according to circumstances; such as the residence or non-residence of heritors, or other wealthy individuals, the influx of travellers, the popularity of the minister, and the character of the inhabitants.

In several parishes where the number of poor may be 30, and the population 1,120, the whole annual collection may not amount to more than 12*l.* You will see numerous examples of this kind in Sinclair's Statistical Account, as under the head of Kilchrenan, Kilmodun, Kilmerton, Kilminan, Saddle, &c. In this parish, the population is about 2,150, the poor on the roll 55, the annual collection at the church-door from 55*l.* to 60*l.*, and when the family of Argyll used to pass part of the season here, the annual collections amounted to from 90*l.* to 100*l.*

The third source is fines imposed on

fornicators and other delinquents, dues paid by those who are married with fewer than three proclamations of banns on three several Sundays, dues paid by those who use the mortcloth in interring their dead, and occasional collections from the sick and from travellers. The amount of all these, in many parishes, may not amount to 4*l.*; in this they may average at about 12*l.*

The fourth source is a donation of 20*l.* annually, from the Duke of Argyll, to the poor of the parish of Inverary. This mode of increasing the poor fund is not uncommon, where the heritor is wealthy and also non-resident. I could, if necessary, state, upon the authority of the minister, the names of parishes where the laws for enforcing relief are not put in execution, and where the heritors give not a penny, however claimant the cases of distress may be. I need not say that such conduct is most vexatious to those who bestow their time and their means for the support of fellow-beings, who are too often, it is to be feared, ruined by the exactions of these same landlords, combined with their own folly in offering or promising more for their possessions than they know them to be worth. It is conduct also which is very impolitic, as it tends to constrain kirk sessions to put the poor-laws in force; a resource which would be ruinous to industry and independence, but which has been often represented to me as the only one left to kirk sessions.

The third consideration is the amount of relief given to the poor. Generally, they who receive parish support have free-houses, though this is neither always nor necessarily the case. In this burgh there are several houses allotted for the poor by the Duke of Argyll, but the number is so great, that these houses do not accommodate more than a third of those who receive support. Many have pensions from his Grace of 2*l.*, 3*l.*, 4*l.*, or 5*l.*, according to their circumstances, and some even more than this; of course these pensions pay the rent, and render the sum necessary for supporting them smaller.

In the landward part of the parish

several of the paupers have also small pensions, and their houses are either free or rented from one of the tenants for a few shillings. The poor in the country have also potato ground for as much manure as they please; and this is freely given by the tenant, as an accompaniment of the cottage.

The first question to be resolved in determining the amount of relief, is whether the claimant be in the burgh or landward part of the parish? If in the burgh, rather more is allowed. To an insane female in the burgh, who has a pension of a few pounds from his Grace, we give from the session 1*s.* 9*d.* per week. Before she got her pension she had 2*s.* 6*d.* per week: but as she had a grandson in the house, who was also unable to gain subsistence, and required her daughter to be in constant attendance, her relatives complained that it was too little. *We again found it too much*, as the woman required to be always kept in bed. Her case was represented to the Duke, and the pension given satisfied her in part, and in part relieved us.

To infirm people of class 1st, we give from 6*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* per week. To those of class 2nd we distribute our collections quarterly, or once in the three months, giving them in the summer quarter, when they have work, about 2*s.* 6*d.* and from that to 6*s.* per quarter; and in winter and spring about 4*s.* 6*d.*, or from that to 9*s.*, as we can afford. Children that we board out are paid for to cottagers or small farmers in the neighbourhood, where they may get milk and exercise, at the rate of 5*l.* per annum. Class 3rd get according to their need, and class the fifth, 6*d.* or 1*s.*, or what may bring them to the neighbouring parish. These may be taken as instances of the measure of relief given by us, but it is not always so much. There is an insane young man in the landward part of the parish, who is confined with a straitjacket almost always; we give him only 1*s.* per week. This satisfied his poor parents, who are reduced farmers, for several years, for they knew that we had it not to give; but I may mention, as one of the casualties

which often perplex us, that this day I attended the corpse of the young man's father to the grave, and that when the procession left the house, the aged widow, unable any longer to manage her son, though tied in the bed, was constrained to ask the assistance of two of those men who had come to the funeral. In such a case, if we could not depend on the generosity of the Duke, we should have no resource left but to cess the parish. As our former allowance to this man is now altogether inadequate, I must add that the parents whose name is Turner, though reduced farmers, and natives of this parish, were not ruined on the lands of the Duke, who only sheltered their poverty, but on the lands of Lord Breadalbane, who, when they were left penniless, allowed them to depart in peace. The sums given by us are small. You will be astonished to hear that a penny a day is perhaps as much as many of the poor women in this parish may have. In this, too, they are comparatively well provided for; yet if you would propose to increase their allowance, the question occurs, how is this to be done?

To put the poor-laws in force I consider a ruinous measure; for I have sufficient experience to assure me, that, as it is true in mercantile commodities that the supply is regulated by the demand, so that in the inverse proposition is true in every provision for the poor; viz. that the demand is regulated by the supply. The pauper who deems himself comfortable with 1s. a week, along with what he procures from private charity, would not be satisfied with five if our funds were increased fivefold; nor would the individual who lives cheerfully upon potatoes and milk, with perhaps porridge once a week, which he earns with the sweat of his brow, for himself and family, trouble his body and harass his mind, if a craving application to the heritors and kirk session, enforced by a threat of complaint to the supreme civil court if not aided, were sufficient to procure a more luxurious fare. I know many poor in my own and other parishes, and though there are some poor who have been reduced by

great misfortunes to that state, still for every one that misfortune reduces, intemperance reduces ten, improvidence fifteen, and indolence fifteen more. The poor-laws only provide for the evil when it has occurred; they court its occurrence again, but they apply no remedy; they use no method to root out the disease; they do nothing but harden the hearts of the rich when brought into operation, and stimulate the folly of the poor. One good effect, indeed, the poor-laws in Scotland have while they are not put in force, and it is this, by putting the poor man in a condition to crave relief as his right, they tend to make the wealthy anxious to discourage vice, and to preserve those beneath them from being reduced to the necessity of demanding compulsory relief. They also prevent absolute and total neglect, which would undoubtedly be their lot, if no provision were made for them, a truth which I might adduce facts to prove, notwithstanding the state of the law; and they are also a check upon many hard landlords, who are only prevented from ruining their tenants (who are often too ready to ruin themselves) by the conviction that it is easier to want a few pounds to let the tenant support himself, than to deprive him of all, and then to pay double for his maintenance. In regard to the distribution of money to the poor also, much depends on the manner of giving it, as well as the time. In so far as my other duties have permitted me, I have been taught to have my eye constantly on them, so as to know what private charities they receive, when their provisions fail, when their need is greatest. If they get any aid when they require it not, it is of little use, as they spend it on what is not necessary, and a shilling opportunely given does more good than two when there is no immediate occasion for more than what is already possessed. Money given publicly also is less useful, perhaps for the same reason. We are, therefore, in the habit of giving occasionally to the poor, according to their necessities, and of giving also in a manner which may neither hurt their feeling of independ-

ence, nor expose them to their equals as having any thing to spare.

We also give in kind sometimes rather than in money, because when they get money it is spent often as it ought not to be. They contrive also to exchange the provisions for their favourite beverage; but it is not so easily effected in every case.

In every instance we show as much regard to moral character in our distributions, as is consistent with the relief of the individuals, and a few, from six to ten, are allowed to beg one day a week within the bounds of the parish, but in no instance are they to go beyond the bounds, under pain of losing parish support. In some parishes in the county they are not so particular in restraining their poor, but are becoming more so.

I omitted saying, that whenever we find an individual very urgent in claiming support, who we think is not deserving, that we insist upon his bequeathing his effects to the parish first, and then that his name shall be placed on the roll. If he is not really poor, this never fails in making him withdraw his claims; I have never seen it fail; in ordinary cases we do not resort to this measure, as most frequently the applicants have nothing but a pot, a bed, and a few bed clothes, all of which would not sell for 20s. When a pauper dies, however, we generally take possession of his effects, if they be of any value at all. The quarterly distributions are announced from the pulpit, on the Sunday previous, and all invited to send in their claims, or to prepare to state their grievances, if they consider themselves aggrieved.

Since I came to this parish, I have been led to consider it necessary to equity and economy, that one person should superintend the distribution, and attend to the wants of the poor, and scarcely a shilling has been given, or a pauper relieved, without my knowledge. Were all to relieve in their separate capacity, the fund would be squandered; were they to give no relief save as a body, and no one individual to have a power of distributing as he saw necessary, it would be so troublesome and

tedious as to become impossible and incompatible with the promptness of relief which is often required.

We educate the children of the poor, paying for their books, and sometimes the schoolmaster's charges. Medical relief is not given or paid for by the session. It sometimes is in other parishes.

Every farthing collected or arising from any of the aforesaid funds, is noted down in a book kept for that purpose, and every penny expended in a separate account, bearing when, why, to whom, and by whom given. A state of the accounts is annually laid before the kirk session by the treasurer. I should also have mentioned that part of our funds are in the bank, part lent to the burgh, and part lent on personal security. This last, amounting to 100*l.*, we have been most anxious to obtain payment of, but have hitherto been unable. This and much more was lent on a similar security before my induction. There ought to be a prohibition against lending the money of the poor on less than heritable security. The lenders in this case are almost all dead. Their heirs are not able, in every case, to make good our loss, if any, and were they able, we could not compel them without risking much of the poor's fund in litigation.

The poor-laws are not in force in any parish in this county, and so far as I know, to enforce them is an extreme which every kirk session would account a great evil, even though it would prove a great saving of trouble to them, and often of ungracious trouble too; for gratitude is not always the character of any one class of men, nor thanks always the reward of benevolence. The number of paupers in this parish is owing to the influx of elderly women into the burgh, where they get a room for 20*d.*, or less, and hope to get work; a few years after, they require parish relief. The provision made by the law for expelling those from the parish who have no ostensible mode of subsistence before they constitute residence, is not attended to in Argyleshire. I have had no reason to put it into force. The custom

is, if any one, however poor, contrives to get a house or cottage, which is often supplied by the tenants without the knowledge of the authorities, to permit that individual to remain.

The only preventive to the increase of poverty which we have adopted in this parish, is a saving bank and a parochial library; the one to encourage, the other to take some of its charms from dissipation.

The kirk session funds are aided by a fund formed by individuals who contribute a penny a week for the relief of poverty, and by a bazaar; both co-operate with the kirk session. The treasurer and the clerk of session have each £1. per annum for their trouble. Such are all the particulars connected with the management of the poor in this parish that I consider of any importance.

POOR-LAWS.

LETTER IV.

"God said to man, This pleasant land,
I make it wholly thine.
On this sad day, I look, and say,
There's not one furrow mine.

"God said to man, Increase, enjoy,
Build, till, and sow your seed.
But though the land, the Lord gave me,
My children beg their bread.

"The north belongs unto the crown;
The south to the divine;
And east and west, Wealth holds her hands,
And says, The rest is mine.

"God said to man, The winged fowl,
The fin'd fish of the flood,
The heathcock on the desert hill,
The wild deer of the wood;

"Take them and live. The strong man came;
As came the fiend of yore
To Paradise; put forth his hand;
And they are mine no more!"

CHAUNTS OF THE PEOPLE.

Dunfermline, 17. June, 1834.

POOR MAN'S FRIEND, — I am sure you will join me in the sentiment of the motto which I daily sing to the Psalm tune of "Plaintive Martyrs," or Dundee's wild warbling measures, or pious "Elgin." It "beets" not,

indeed, the "heavenward flame": yet it "raises the joy of grief." Thanks to the anonymous, gifted author: happy should I be to take him by the hand, and call him brother, in faith and in feeling.

That your readers of the higher and learned orders, may know how we, poor ignorant devils, "the vulgar"; or as the knowledge diffusers have softened down the phrase, "not regular students," think and feel on such subjects, I will venture to give them my opinions on the justice, policy, and general utility of poor-laws, and, the thought just now strikes me, of doing it in a *parliamentary* form. St. Paul and St. Cobbett have taught me not to fear an imputation of egotism; and, forasmuch as I am an advocate of the rights of the poor, and of the working people, "I magnify mine office. We meet with many insults, it is well that we cultivate a virtuous self-esteem,

Having lately met a good clergyman from a neighbouring parish, who used to read your *Register* along with me many years ago, the conversation turned upon "Cobbett." "Cobbett," said his reverence, "makes no figure in the House; he has found his level there: but, who would have thought at one time, that ever he would have got into Parliament?" After I had answered to this, and nailed him completely on some points of divinity, he observed, tauntingly, "I wonder ye don't get into Parliament, you that know so much, and could so soon correct every thing that's wrong; you should really set up for a parliament, as well as your idol, Mr. Cobbett." "Be easy, sir," I replied, "when we obtain universal suffrage, which I hope we shall do ere long, I shall start as a candidate for the Dunfermline district." "And, faith!" said a gentleman present, "he'll get it too, if all the weavers in Dunfermline are to have votes."

At the conclusion of a public meeting, in which my son and I completely vanquished Lord Dalmeny and his famous Whig lawyers from Edinburgh, James Hunt, Esq., of Pittencreeff,

peevishly and sneeringly, cried out, "Oh! we must have *Mr. Morrison* sent to Parliament next election!" "Yes, sir," I replied, "the time is indeed coming, when men such as I am shall be sent to Parliament; and right it is, that the men who work the *wark*, should also make the laws." Since, therefore, my reverend and rich neighbours have put it into my head, I will, Mr. Cobbett, indulge myself with a day-dream of my being in Parliament, in room of Lord Dalmeny; the noble lord having resigned on the call of his constituents, in consequence of his vote against Mr. Harvey's motion on the pension list; contrary to his pledge at the election. Having heard Lord Althorp's motion, "that the Poor-Law Amendment Bill be now read a third time," and Mr. Cobbett's amendment, seconded by Mr. Fielden, "that the bill be read a third time this day six months," I thus address the Speaker:

Denying myself, Mr. Speaker, any indulgence of vanity under the flimsy veil of humility, such as is common to members on their first appearances, and, avoiding the cant of "humble station," of "the subject falling into abler hands," and all such despicable common-place stuff, I am happy that my maiden speech shall be on a subject with which I am fully acquainted; having assisted in its discussion at several meetings of the Political Union of Dunfermline (Oh, oh); and in support of an amendment by my "school-master," not "abroad," but always *at home*; the honourable member for Oldham. (A laugh).

The spirit of the English poor-laws is, that no person shall suffer want: the gravamen of this infamous bill is, that the relief of the poor shall, in a great measure, depend on the pleasure of the rich; and, the administration of the poor-laws, in the event of this bill becoming law, will be conducted in subserviency to the principle of "a surplus labouring population"; to "amputate" which will become the "stern-path-duty" of the despotic board. Seriously, and without exaggeration, I conceive the introduction of this mea-

sure to be the result of a combination of the rich, to starve or transport a portion of the poor. (No, no). Yes, yes; it is; and it is nothing else: read Malthus and the *Edinburgh Review*. The villanous monsters who are at the bottom of the plot, meditate the total abolition of the poor-laws; and by this *first* measure they expect to render them partially inoperative in England, as they have long been in Scotland. The primary principle of a legal support for the sick, superannuated, and unemployed labourers, is involved in the present discussion; I shall, therefore, consider it under three different aspects, the aspect of JUSTICE, as it affects the poor; of POLICY, in reference to the rich; and, of UTILITY, in regard to the interests of the whole community.

In the first place, viewing the question as one of justice towards the poor, I conceive, that every individual born on the land, has a natural right to an equal portion of its rent. (Hear, hear). If the whole rents of all the lands of Britain and Ireland, amount to 48,000,000*l.* yearly; and if the inhabitants of the two islands number 24,000,000; then, according to the law of nature, each man, woman, and child, is entitled to receive 2*l.* annually, from the general rent-fund, which belongs to the nation. (Hear, hear, oh, oh, and loud cries of question, question). Why are hon. gentlemen so very sensitive on this point? Do they wish the present distribution of landed property to remain undisturbed? they may quash discussion by conceding the vested rights of the poor; and repudiating the principles of robbery and spoliation of their national proprietary, in the soil involved in this bill, by voting for the amendment of my hon. Friend. The truth of my proposition is *theoretically* indisputable; when members of this House become better tempered and more polite, I shall speak of the necessary practical restriction as to its application.

The honourable mover of the amendment has informed you, that the poor have an equal right with, nay "a better" right, to a portion of the land rents

than the landlords have to the remainder: *better*; for the poor man's right is natural and indefeasible and inalienable; he holds his charter from Almighty God, while the right of the landlord is conventional and conditional and transferable; it being held merely by the institutions of man; or in the words of Paley, by "the law of the land. (Hear, hear) And the hon. member for Colchester has said, "that the landlord is only a "trustee for the people, *the fee-simple "belongs of right to the nation.*" (Hear, hear, hear). I can understand the meaning of these cries, and the direction of those eyes towards my hon. friends; they would say, See the effects of your "destructive" doctrines on the lower orders: "the cobbler" (as the real or pretended mouth-piece of his Majesty's government in Scotland, Sir J. Craig, has condescended to designate me) "is about "to advocate a system of spoliation and "agrarianism!" No, sir, I am not; and if I were to conceive my hon. friends as feeling uneasy under the imputation of misleading me or my order, nothing were easier than to relieve them from the exclusive responsibility: the same doctrine has been taught by LOCKE and PALEY, by MOSES and JESUS.

LOCKE lays it down as a first principle, *that every man is entitled to as much land as he can himself labour, and to no more*; and laments that one man should have been enabled to rob many others of their original patrimony by means of "yellow dirt": had he lived in our day he might have said, by "*filthy rags*"; and Doctor PALEY, a prophet of your own, begins his first chapter on the Rights of Property thus:

"If you see a flock of pigeons in a field of corn, and if (instead of each picking where and what it liked, taking just as much as it wanted and no more) you should see ninety-nine of them gathering all they got into a heap, reserving nothing for themselves but the chaff and the refuse; keeping this heap for one, and that the weakest, perhaps worst pigeon of the flock; sitting round and looking on all the winter whilst this one was devouring, throwing about, and wasting it; and

"if a pigeon more hungry or hardy than the rest touched a grain of the hoard, all the others flying upon it and tearing it to pieces; if you should see this, you would see no more than what is every day practised and established among men. Among men you see the ninety-and-nine toiling and scraping together a heap of superfluities for one (and this one too oftentimes the feeblest and worst of the whole set), a child, a woman," (this is ungallant, good Doctor; say rather, a *parson*, a madman, or a fool,) "getting nothing for themselves all the while but a little of the coarsest of the provision which their own industry produces; looking quietly on while they see the fruits of their labour spent or spoiled; and if one of the number take or touch a particle of the hoard the others joining against him and hanging him for the theft."

And, after setting aside the claim of the landlord by inheritance from the first cultivator, he adds, "The real (only) foundation of our right is, *THE LAW OF THE LAND.*"

The pigeon story is not, though it is called by the "learned," a "paradox," but a *poser*; the *rationale* of it bears, that every individual, and especially he who labours, ought to have a share. It is true the parson who was of the *ONES* tries afterwards to support the claims of his order; but with small success indeed. It would appear that the pigeon-poser had made a strong impression on the mind of our late "revered and venerable sovereign," as Oxonians still call George III.; and men of moderate or inferior intellect have this advantage over those of superior powers, that on a simple question their minds are not so easily sophisticated; so it is said, that when our "venerable" was asked for a then vacant bishopric for Archdeacon PALEY, he answered with his usual threefold iteration, "What, what, what! Pigeon Paley, Pigeon Paley, Pigeon Paley! A bishop, a bishop, a bishop! No, no, no." Let the landlords pause and ponder on PALEY's *poser* before they join the noble lord in his unjust and unlawful attempt to take from the poor

toilers and scrapers a part of their "little of the coarsest provisions" legally secured to them by the poor-laws, that such may be "spent or spoiled." by the rich proprietors.

MOSES informs us, that immediately after the creation "God said to our "first progenitors jointly, 'Behold, I "have given *you* (in the plural) every "herb bearing seed, &c." consequently the soil on which they grew; and on taking possession of the land of Canaan the principle of common right was made the rule of its partition among families; individual alienation was permitted to be only for a limited space; it was expressly enjoined, THE LAND SHALL NOT BE SOLD FOR EVER; and for the unfortunate and the improvident provision was made by a liberal system of poor-laws. JESUS, the greatest of all levelers, made the leaving or selling of land and all other property a term and test of discipleship, forbade individual accumulation, and commanded equal distribution among his followers; his laws were obeyed: "they that had possessions and goods sold them, and laid "the price at the apostles' feet, and "distribution was made unto all, as "every man had need; they that believed were together, and *they had all "things common.*" ROBERT OWEN is the only CHRISTIAN writer of the present day. Lords and prelates of the Malthusian school, with their immense possessions and revenues, in the midst of their starving brethren, and not even so much as saying to these, "Be warmed, be filled," but "starve, die, and be damned," call themselves *Christians*! Were the Author of Christianity now to appear in London as he did in Jerusalem, teaching the same doctrines, and accompanied by as many followers, he would not be crucified, to be sure, as he was by the bloody Jews, but I have no doubt that he and his apostles would soon be sent after the Dorchester Unionists. (Hear, hear, and question). Well, I will come to the question. On the principle of a natural, common, equal right to the soil, my individual claim on the land-rent fund at the present time is,

To my share of land-rent for
53 years, at say 2*l.* yearly... £ 106
To my wife's share, for 15 years 30
To my 6 children's shares, till
12 years old 144

£ 280

Now I am willing to waive this family claim, and also to forbear to press my future claims during life; and my working friends are willing to do the same on condition that the landlords shall religiously fulfil a virtual compact, upon condition of which they hold their estates; that is, that *when we are sick, impotent, or unemployed, they will moderately supply our natural wants out of the rents of the lands of which they have a monopoly.* Is this claim unjust or unreasonable? Surely no: let every hon. gentleman who thinks so vote for the amendment of the hon. member for Oldham. * * * * *

I must awake, Mr. Cobbett, and for the present leave my parliamentary duties for the awls. With my next I shall send you printed papers, from which you will see how the poor of this parish are defrauded and robbed under the most hypocritical pretences, in consequence of the inefficiency of the Scotch poor-laws, to which it is intended to assimilate the English. There is a Report from a Committee of the General Assembly on this subject, which it might be of service to our cause that you should see. I have long sought for it in vain. If any of your Scotch friends can obtain it they ought to send it to you without delay.

Poor Man's Friend,

I remain,

Your obedient servant,

THOS. MORRISON, Sen.

William Cobbett, M. P.

P. S. I now recollect that the G. A.'s Report was made to Parliament.

Bolton, 23. June, 1834.

DEAR SIR,—I see by your praiseworthy opposition to the Malthus-check-population bill, that you have received a statement from Mr. MYERSCOUGH of Little Bolton, stating the amount of

the money received by the overseers, and the amount paid to the poor, in which it appears not more than one-half has been handed to the poor. I feel confident from my long experience in reforming local abuses, that this is the case throughout England; and those designing knaves called assistant-overseers seldom, or never, furnish Government with a fair statement. About six years ago I was summoned before the magistrates to show cause why I refused to pay my poor-rates, when I took three years printed reports to show them that it was not poor-rates, as stated on the summons; for the three years not one-third of the amount laid had been paid to the poor, including the workhouse. Since that time our town's affairs have been better managed, as you will see by the following statement, which I copied from the last printed report issued by the overseers.

Report of the poor of the township of Great Bolton, from the 25. March, 1832, to the 25. March, 1833.

Amount of rates laid for the relief of the poor, 10,579*l.* 16*s.*

	£	s.	d.
Amount paid to regular poor, as per list.....	2778	12	0
Ditto to Casual Poor ..	151	0	0
Passes	24	4	11
Burial expenses.....	152	9	1
Workhouse expenses ..	1215	10	9
Dispensary.....	42	0	0
Manchester Infirmary ..	10	10	0
Debts paid which were owing last year	872	10	0
	£ 5246	16	9

The greater part of the remainder is made up in county-rates, law expenses, salaries, boroughreeve accounts, and other items, not at all connected with the poor, all which items would be unnecessary under a good Government.

I ought to state that the 872*l.* 10*s.* which is stated for debts paid, 490*l.* is for items of this description. We have now got the town's affairs in our own hands; the overseers and all salaried officers are elected by the rate-payers.

The consequence of this is, that the rates which a few years ago were 4*s.* per quarter in the pound under a self-elected, self-interested junta, are now reduced to 6*d.* in the pound, not more than one-half of which can possibly be paid to the poor, as the other will be wanted for various purposes.

Yours very respectfully,

W. NAISBY.

To Mr. Cobbett, M. P.

(From the Morning Herald 21. June.)

The Malthusians, and the whole race of Mammonite philosophers—who, to use a phrase of Mr. POULETT THOMSON, would rather keep their money to fructify in their breeches-pockets, than contribute the smallest portion of it for the relief of their starving fellow-creature—are in the habit of ascribing the pauperism which prevails among the labouring classes in this country to the poor-laws. But numerous and wretched as the poor of this country are, they are not so numerous or so wretched as those of Ireland, where no poor-laws do or ever have existed. We have often referred to the state of the poor in that country as affording the most convincing argument of the necessity of a statutory provision for the poor. Not only has the want of poor-laws in Ireland produced a state of wretchedness among the labouring population of that part of the United Kingdom which is hardly to be paralleled on the face of the earth, but the same wretchedness operates to depress below what it would otherwise have been the condition of the labouring poor of England. The swarms of Mr. Spring Rice's ragged and famishing countrymen that continually come over along with Mr. Spring Rice's other Irish exports of corn, cattle, pigs, and poultry, we need not say, keep down the rate of wages in this country to a starvation price, while they illustrate the "advancing prosperity" of their native land, where thousands pine for food in the midst of plenty, much better than the red-tape Colonial Secretary's Custom-house returns. Like the critic in Sterne who took no notice of the face of

Garrick in his deep emotions, but "looked only at the stop-watch," such a statesman turns from the mass of living wretchedness of his native land, which he may see in every street, on every road, under every hedge, almost of this country, and looks only at the documents! So he finds Ireland to be growing fast in prosperity, because corn and cattle are exported while the population starve. One who did not understand the mysteries of "red-tapeism" would absurdly infer that if the people had the means of purchasing the corn and the beef, the bacon and the poultry, they would save the producers the trouble and expense of exporting those things; but official logicians of the school which we mention smile with contempt at the deductions of common sense.

But though the starving multitudes of the tenantry of the hard-hearted Irish absentees have not money to buy the produce of the soil which they cultivate, they have hands which they sometimes use in vindicating by force the principle which the poor-laws of this country recognise, as the law of humanity did before them, that no person ought to perish of hunger while there is food to be had. It is the poor-laws that prevent such periodical visitations of the madness engendered of hunger which occur in Ireland. At present famine stares a large portion of the population of Ireland in the face, in consequence of an extensive failure of the potato-crop, the only subsistence of a large proportion of the inhabitants of the corn and cattle-exporting country. What is the consequence? The starving crowds seize by force upon the provisions going to market, they attack and carry off carts of flour and potatoes, as they would in England, if the poor-laws did not protect them against absolute starvation. Some years ago, when, from a similar cause, a famine prevailed in the south and west of Ireland, the exports of provisions to this country would have been stopped by the rapid process of a popular embargo and distribution, if it had not been for the large amount of subscription raised among the benevolent in this country, who were thus

inducted to relieve the Irish poor as well as their own, because the Irish landlords, of whom Mr. Rice is one, oppose every proposition for placing them beyond the reach of absolute starvation by a system of legal relief. Who can wonder at the turbulence of a people so abandoned by their heartless, sordid, absentee landlords, to hopeless misery, that they can fear nothing worse than they already suffer from the penal consequences of lawless attempts to relieve the immediate pressure of their deplorable distress?

The following passage, illustrative of the melancholy state of things in Ireland, in consequence of there being no statutory provision for the poor, is from the *Tipperary Free Press*.

"On Monday, after mid-day, considerable alarm was excited by a report that Messrs. Grubb's flour-carts were attacked near Marlfield, on their way to this town, by about 200 men, women, and children, and 20 sacks of flour forcibly taken away. The police immediately turned out under their active chief, Captain Gunn, and with the dragoons and infantry were at the scene of the attack in about 20 minutes. They were soon after joined by Sir Hugh Gough, Captain Morton, and Stephen Moore, Esq., three magistrates of this county, and having scoured the country with great diligence, four sacks of the flour were found in corn-fields, and two persons, a man and woman, who bore evident marks of the foray, were apprehended. Subsequently seven persons were taken into custody, two of whom were liberated, Mr. Moore having become their security; and the seven prisoners and the four sacks of flour were brought in by the police, and the former duly committed to the county gaol for trial at the ensuing assizes. It has been our painful duty to record, in times of scarcity, the commission of similar outrages on the property of the Messrs. Grubb. These gentlemen send daily from Clogheen and Caher into this town, for consumption and exportation, immense quantities of flour, and their carriers or property

"are never molested, unless at periods like the present, when our wretched peasantry are suffering under the pressure of want and the most grinding privations. Potatoes of indifferent quality are now 6d. per stone in this market: and when the trifling wages of the labourer and the precariousness of employment are taken into consideration, it will be felt that nothing less than the direst necessity could prompt so large a portion of the population, remarkable for their wonderful endurance of poverty, to this glaring outrage of the laws. We trust that something shortly will be done to ameliorate the pitiable condition of the people of this unfortunate country."

If any thing is shortly to be done, in accordance with the anticipation of the writer of the above paragraph, to ameliorate the condition of the people of his unfortunate country, it is not likely it will be done by the Whig Ministers or the reformed Parliament. The former have been nearly four years in office, and they have done nothing whatever to ameliorate the condition of the great mass of the Irish people; yet they are not altogether inattentive to Ireland. They extend their patronage by commissions in that country; they have even a poor-law commission there to inquire about that of which no reasonable man entertains a doubt, and of which the evidence is continually and painfully obtruded upon our notice. Lord Grey has just now declared that the *Coercion Act* is to be renewed. The people "ask for bread, and they get a stone." The *Coercion Act* will not stay the cravings of hunger, nor crush its desperation. Neither armies nor coercion bills were to have been necessary to tranquillize Ireland after the passing of "the healing measure"! Nothing but honest government, and providing employment for the mass of the people, will ever tranquillize it; and yet this simple truth the Tories overlooked, and the Whigs cannot see.

HISTORY OF GEORGE THE FOURTH.

Two numbers of this work will be published on the 1. of next month, and three numbers on the 1. of August; and this will complete the work, chronological table, index, and all; and then I shall have done my duty with regard to "THE SOVEREIGN," and his fishings on VIRGINIA Water; and his palaces and his gateways, and his pony phaetons, and his gilded carpets, so much admired and praised by the ever-damned tax-devourers of London. Ah! this is the solace of my life, to look back at, and to describe how it is, that the greedy and blundering fellows, who have had the affairs of this nation in their hands, have brought themselves into their present pretty pickle. I have just finished the history of PEEL'S bill. I lose myself in ecstasy, when I look back at their arrogance and insolence, and then turn my eyes to behold them in their present precious plight, in which they are now receiving the just reward of that arrogance and insolence; and there is no part of them, whose present situation I view with more pleasure than that of the parsons.

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,
FRIDAY, JUNE 20, 1834.

INSOLVENTS.

CLARK, J., Godalming, Surrey, linen-draper.
READY, S., Kingston-upon-Thames, grocer.

BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

CAPPER, H., Strand, tea-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ATKINSON, T., Gloucester, chemist.
BROWN, E., Heaton Norris, Lancashire, cotton-spinner.
BRIDGE, R., Twickenham, Middlesex, grocer.
CONROY, T., Leicester-place, Leicester-square, wine-merchant.
NOTT, and Co., Bristol, iron-merchants.
SMITH, J., Liverpool, carrier.
WARD, O. D., Manchester, merchant.

TUESDAY, JUNE 24, 1834.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

BOULTING, J., jun., Wells, Somersetshire, innholder.
TURNER, R. J., Norwich, money-scrivener.

BANKRUPTS.

BULMER, J., Hartlepool, Durham.
CHAPMAN, S., Hurst, Lancashire.
COHEN, S., Birmingham, factor.

COWAN, R., Plumstead, Kent, schoolmaster.
 DAY, E. E., Bristol, surgeon.
 GRIFFIN, E., Erdington, surgeon.
 HUNT, T., Sheffield, scissor-manufacturer.
 HODSOLL, T., Garnault-place, Spa-fields,
 and Brussels, Belgium, picture-dealer.
 JAMES, J., Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire,
 innkeeper.
 LEE, B., Selby, Yorkshire, soap-boiler.
 WALSH, J., Warrington, Lancashire, cot-
 ton-manufacturer.
 WHITEHEAD, R., Liverpool, and Birkin-
 head, Cheshire, attorney-at-law.
 WILLS, W., Exeter, builder.
 WHYBOROUGH, C., Manchester, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

GEDDES, J., Verreville, near Glasgow, ma-
 nufacturer of glassware.
 ROBINSON, J., Jedburgh, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, June 23.—
 Though the arrivals of Wheat fresh up to this
 morning's market from Essex, Kent, and Suf-
 folk were not large, yet the trade ruled dull,
 and millers exhibited little inclination to be-
 come purchasers; a few fine parcels at the
 commencement of the market realized the
 rates of this day se'nnight, but the general
 runs sold slowly at a decline of 1s. per quarter
 on the terms of last Monday. Inferior parcels
 were very unsaleable. In bonded qualities
 nothing transpiring.

Barley was in short supply, and the demand
 proving limited, last week's quotations were
 barely supported. The prices of bonded sam-
 ples were unaltered in value.

Malt of fine quality was saleable at the
 former currency, but inferior qualities met
 with little attention.

The supply of Oats since Friday, particularly
 from Scotland, has been considerable, and
 some additional cargoes having arrived to-day,
 caused the stands to be well filled with sam-
 ples. Factors demanded the advanced rates of
 Friday, which were 6d. to 1s. above the quota-
 tions of this day week. Dealers and consumers
 however, complied reluctantly with the im-
 proved rates, and the business consequently,
 was not extensive. Some cargoes of foreign
 oats have arrived in the river, but speculators
 are still inquiring for the article in bond, as
 well as transmitting fresh orders to Denmark
 at the prevailing currencies.

Beans, though in limited supply, were dull
 sale at last week's prices. Nothing doing in
 the article under lock.

Few Peas offering of any description, and
 prices fully maintained. Bonded samples are
 scarce, and held at from 26s. to 34s. as in
 quality.

The stock of Flour in London being to a
 moderate extent, fresh qualities were ready
 sale at the terms of last Monday.

Wheat, Essex, Kent, and Suffolk	45s. to 51s.
— White	50s. to 56s.
— Norfolk, Lincolnshire, } — and Yorkshire.....	42s. to 47s.
— White, ditto	46s. to 52s.
— West Country red.....	46s. to 48s.
— White, ditto	47s. to 51s.
— Northumberland and } — Berwickshire red..	40s. to 45s.
— White, ditto	41s. to 47s.
— Moray, Angus, and } — Rothshire red.....	37s. to 43s.
— White, ditto	43s. to 45s.
— Irish red	37s. to 41s.
— White, ditto	40s. to 44s.
Barley, Malting	31s. to 33s.
— Chevalier	31s. to 33s.
— Distilling	29s. to 31s.
— Grinding.....	28s. to 30s.
Malt, new	37s. to 47s.
— Norfolk, pale.....	50s. to 56s.
— Ware	52s. to 58s.
Peas, Hog and Grey	38s. to 40s.
— Maple	39s. to 43s.
— White Boilers	40s. to 48s.
Beans, Small	34s. to 39s.
— Harrow	33s. to 38s.
— Tick.....	32s. to 36s.
Oats, English Feed	25s. to 27s.
— Short, small	26s. to 28s.
— Poland	25s. to 29s.
— Scotch, common	25s. to 26s.
— — Potato	27s. to 29s.
— — Berwick	26s. to 28s.
— Irish, Galway, &c.	22s. to 24s.
— — Potato	25s. to 26s.
— — Black	24s. to 26s.
Bran, per bushel	10s. to 13s.
Flour, per sack	43s. to 46s.

PROVISIONS.

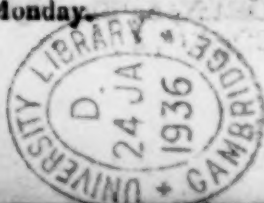
Butter, Dorset	40s. to —s. per cwt.
— Cambridge	40s. to —s.
— York	38s. to —s.
Cheese, Dble. Gloucester	48s. to 68s.
— Single ditto....	44s. to 48s.
— Cheshire.....	54s. to 74s.
— Derby	50s. to 60s.
Hams, Westmoreland..	46s. to 58s.
— Cumberland ...	46s. to 56s.

SMITHFIELD, June 23.

This day's supply of Sheep was rather great,
 its supply of Beasts, Lambs and Calves, mode-
 rately good; of Porkers, but limited. Trade,
 owing to the unfavourable state of the weather
 for slaughtering, and both the carcases mar-
 kets, and many of the street butchers' shops,
 still containing a considerable portion of their
 Saturday's meat, was, throughout, very dull;
 say with Mutton, Lamb, and Veal, at a de-
 pression of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with
 Beef and Pork at barely Friday's quotations.

END OF VOL LXXXIV.

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